614 582 835 684 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of them are based on the old marriage relations which were complicated by ritual stuff. He talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] [178] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice was broken. All know that it is a terrible thing, however. I expressed horror and asked whether these two groups weren't having bad troubles because of the curse of incest. The guru

582 614 835 684 688

582 614 835 684 [688]

said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told about the evils of breaking the pela and fam rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

114 As Vatter says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
● 835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 a. Ama Radja
621 b. Ama Belolong
c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
a. Subamaki(ng)
b. Harutmaki(ng)
c. Tapopuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
a. Hadumbole(ng)
(1) Hadumbole(ng)
(2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
b. Marimaki(ng)
c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Waktuka(ng)
c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Engamaki(ng)

582 The marriages run as follows (I checked a few
614 from the woman's side and this is enough):
835

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

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Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

Wa.

000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's 377 brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

Wha.

582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
● 835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

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582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

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	mother's brother's son (woman speaking), brother (woman speaking)
veta	father's brother's daughter (man speaking), father's sister's daughter (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (man speaking), sister (man speaking)
edja	father's sister's son (man speaking), mother's brother's son (man speaking), wife's brother (man speaking), sister's husband (man speaking)
ipa	father's sister's daughter (woman speaking), mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking), husband's sister (woman speaking), brother's wife (woman speaking)
hai	mother's brother's daughter (man speaking), wife, woman
aki	father's sister's son (woman speaking), husband, man
hai ada	mother's brother's wife (man speaking or woman speaking)
ine tu'a	mother's brother's wife (man speaking), mother-in-law (man speaking)
aki no'o	father's sister's husband (man speaking or woman speaking), father-in-law (woman speaking)
ambu	grandparent
ambu ata aki	grandfather
ambu ata hai	grandmother

582
835 I can find no flaw in the system. It is exactly right for mother's brother's daughter marriage. And they say this is the right thing. Nowadays, there is some trouble with the church, and they have, canonically, to go up three generations to get the proper hai or aki (that is, mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter;

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

273 769 778 Then, incidentally, he said that an indispensable item at each sacrifice must be palm wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

582 578 835 [753] In regard to the mother's brother's daughter or tungku marriage, this was formerly required, at least for one son. He might be forced brutally into such a marriage if he was reluctant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung